

CIA/OCI/BRIEF 123-75
8 AUGUST 1975

Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010025-2

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OUTGOING MESSAGE

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

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PAGE 01 PAGES

OMF 0 0 0 0 0 0 0

2 17

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DATE TIME GROUP

CITY

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

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INFO: FILE

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☐ NO INDEX
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☐ IN FILES #

MIDDLE EAST AFRICA BRIEF 123-75.4

1. INDIA: SIX WEEKS AFTER THE PROCLAIMED STATE OF EMERGENCY IN INDIA, PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI CONTINUES TO INCREASE HER PERSONAL POWER. SHE HAS CALLED THE EMERGENCY A NECESSARY STEP IN HALTING A TREND TOWARD ANARCHY; OCCASIONALLY, SHE SHEDS LIGHT ON MAJOR CHANGES SHE IS CONTEMPLATING FOR INDIA'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FUTURE.4

THE STATE OF EMERGENCY, WHICH CAN BE PROLONGED INDEFINITELY, HAS BEEN DESCRIBED BY GOVERNMENT LEADERS AS ONLY TEMPORARY, BUT MOST POLITICAL OBSERVERS EXPECT IT TO RUN WELL INTO 1976 OR BEYOND. GANDHI REFUSES TO SPECULATE ON ITS DURATION, NOR WILL SHE SET A DATE FOR THE NATIONAL ELECTION DUE BY NEXT MARCH. THE EXISTING PARLIAMENT, IN WHICH THE RULING CONGRESS PARTY HAS A LARGE MAJORITY, CAN EXTEND ITS TERM FOR ONE-YEAR PERIODS BY A SIMPLE MAJORITY VOTE.4

IN SPEAKING OF THE FUTURE, GANDHI HAS BEEN DEFINITIVE ON ONLY ONE POINT: "POLITICAL PERMISSIVENESS" AS IT EXISTED BEFORE THE CRACKDOWN WILL NOT BE RESTORED.4

GANDHI IS CONTEMPLATING A MAJOR OVERHAUL OF INDIA'S POLITICAL

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 UNIT:
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1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21

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PAGE OF PAGES

OMF 0 0 0 0 0 0 0

3

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DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF: INFO: FILE

☐ INDEX DISSEM BY:
☐ NO INDEX
☐ RETURN TO PER
☐ IN FILES #

STRUCTURE IN ORDER TO INSTITUTIONALIZE HER GREATER POWERS. OFFICIALS CLOSE TO HER HAVE SAID THAT THE BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM INDIA ADOPTED IN 1950 HAS PROVED NOT WELL-SUITED TO INDIA WITH ITS HUGE, DISPARATE, PREDOMINANTLY ILLITERATE POPULATION. GANDHI TOLD PARLIAMENT THAT INDIA HAS TO EVOLVE A POLITICAL SYSTEM IN WHICH THE "RIGHT BALANCE" IS STRUCK BETWEEN FREEDOM AND SOCIAL DISCIPLINE.4

SHE MIGHT TRANSFORM THE PRESENT PARLIAMENT INTO A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AND ORDER IT TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION OR DEVISE A NEW ONE. GANDHI HAS FREQUENTLY USED THE AMENDMENT PROCESS TO GET HER WAY, MOST RECENTLY TO PREVENT THE COURTS FROM CHALLENGING THE EMERGENCY. CONGRESS PARTY CONTROL OF MOST STATE GOVERNMENTS MAKES IT RELATIVELY EASY TO SECURE THE REQUIRED APPROVAL OF AT LEAST HALF THE STATE LEGISLATURES.4

SPECULATION HAS IT THAT GANDHI WILL PRESS FOR A STRONG PRESIDENTIAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT-PERHAPS ALONG LINES OF THE FRENCH SYSTEM, WITH HERSELF OF COURSE AS THE FIRST OCCUPANT OF THE OFFICE. UNDER THE EXISTING ARRANGEMENT, THE INDIAN PRESIDENT FUNCTIONS AS A CEREMONIAL FIGURE, BUT HAS VAST UNUSED POWERS THAT GANDHI PROBABLY

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240	241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269	270	271	272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300	301	302	303	304	305	306	307	308	309	310	311	312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327	328	329	330	331	332	333	334	335	336	337	338	339	340	341	342	343	344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351	352	353	354	355	356	357	358	359	360	361	362	363	364	365	366	367	368	369	370	371	372	373	374	375	376	377	378	379	380	381	382	383	384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391	392	393	394	395	396	397	398	399	400	401	402	403	404	405	406	407	408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415	416	417	418	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429	430	431	432	433	434	435	436	437	438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462	463	464	465	466	467	468	469	470	471	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479	480	481	482	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490	491	492	493	494	495	496	497	498	499	500	501	502	503	504	505	506	507	508	509	510	511	512	513	514	515	516	517	518	519	520	521	522	523	524	525	526	527	528	529	530	531	532	533	534	535	536	537	538	539	540	541	542	543	544	545	546	547	548	549	550	551	552	553	554	555	556	557	558	559	560	561	562	563	564	565	566	567	568	569	570	571	572	573	574	575	576	577	578	579	580	581	582	583	584	585	586	587	588	589	590	591	592	593	594	595	596	597	598	599	600	601	602	603	604	605	606	607	608	609	610	611	612	613	614	615	616	617	618	619	620	621	622	623	624	625	626	627	628	629	630	631	632	633	634	635	636	637	638	639	640	641	642	643	644	645	646	647	648	649	650	651	652	653	654	655	656	657	658	659	660	661	662	663	664	665	666	667	668	669	670	671	672	673	674	675	676	677	678	679	680	681	682	683	684	685	686	687	688	689	690	691	692	693	694	695	696	697	698	699	700	701	702	703	704	705	706	707	708	709	710	711	712	713	714	715	716	717	718	719	720	721	722	723	724	725	726	727	728	729	730	731	732	733	734	735	736	737	738	739	740	741	742	743	744	745	746	747	748	749	750	751	752	753	754	755	756	757	758	759	760	761	762	763	764	765	766	767	768	769	770	771	772	773	774	775	776	777	778	779	780	781	782	783	784	785	786	787	788	789	790	791	792	793	794	795	796	797	798	799	800	801	802	803	804	805	806	807	808	809	810	811	812	813	814	815	816	817	818	819	820	821	822	823	824	825	826	827	828	829	830	831	832	833	834	835	836	837	838	839	840	841	842	843	844	845	846	847	848	849	850	851	852	853	854	855	856	857	858	859	860	861	862	863	864	865	866	867	868	869	870	871	872	873	874	875	876	877	878	879	880	881	882	883	884	885	886	887	888	889	890	891	892	893	894	895	896	897	898	899	900	901	902	903	904	905	906	907	908	909	910	911	912	913	914	915	916	917	918	919	920	921	922	923	924	925	926	927	928	929	930	931	932	933	934	935	936	937	938	939	940	941	942	943	944	945	946	947	948	949	950	951	952	953	954	955	956	957	958	959	960	961	962	963	964	965	966	967	968	969	970	971	972	973	974	975	976	977	978	979	980	981	982	983	984	985	986	987	988	989	990	991	992	993	994	995	996	997	998	999	1000	1001	1002	1003	1004	1005	1006	1007	1008	1009	1010	1011	1012	1013	1014	1015	1016	1017	1018	1019	1020	1021	1022	1023	1024	1025	1026	1027	1028	1029	1030	1031	1032	1033	1034	1035	1036	1037	1038	1039	1040	1041	1042	1043	1044	1045	1046	1047	1048	1049	1050	1051	1052	1053	1054	1055	1056	1057	1058	1059	1060	1061	1062	1063	1064	1065	1066	1067	1068	1069	1070	1071	1072	1073	1074	1075	1076	1077	1078	1079	1080	1081	1082	1083	1084	1085	1086	1087	1088	1089	1090	1091	1092	1093	1094	1095	1096	1097	1098	1099	1100	1101	1102	1103	1104	1105	1106	1107	1108	1109	1110	1111	1112	1113	1114	1115	1116	1117	1118	1119	1120	1121	1122	1123	1124	1125	1126	1127	1128	1129	1130	1131	1132	1133	1134	1135	1136	1137	1138	1139	1140	1141	1142	1143	1144	1145	1146	1147	1148	1149	1150	1151	1152	1153	1154	1155	1156	1157	1158	1159	1160	1161	1162	1163	1164	1165	1166	1167	1168	1169	1170	1171	1172	1173	1174	1175	1176	1177	1178	1179	1180	1181	1182	1183	1184	1185	1186	1187	1188	1189	1190	1191	1192	1193	1194	1195	1196	1197	1198	1199	1200	1201	1202	1203	1204	1205	1206	1207	1208	1209	1210	1211	1212	1213	1214	1215	1216	1217	1218	1219	1220	1221	12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CLASSIFICATION

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MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF: INFO: FILE

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LEADERS IN BOTH STATES HAVE OPENLY DENOUNCED GANDHI'S SHIFT TO AUTHORITARIANISM, BUT HAVE CAREFULLY AVOIDED ACTIONS THAT WOULD GIVE HER A PRETEXT FOR INSTITUTING DIRECT CONTROL FROM NEW DELHI.4

THE PRESS IS LIKELY TO REMAIN UNDER CENSORSHIP INDEFINITELY. THE HARSH PRESS RULES IMPOSED GREW IN PART OUT OF GANDHI'S BITTERNESS ABOUT WHAT SHE THINKS OF AS UNFAIR TREATMENT BY BOTH THE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN PRESS OVER THE YEARS. SHE IS HIGHLY SENSITIVE TO PERSONAL CRITICISM AND HAS COMPLAINED THAT THE PRESS HAS CONSISTENTLY ATTACKED THE NEHRU FAMILY, EVEN WHEN HER FATHER WAS PRIME MINISTER.4

"THEY ARE ALL AGAINST ME," SHE SAID IN A RECENT INTERVIEW. "THEY RESORT TO VICIOUS SLANDER AND CALUMNY, AND I WILL NOT HAVE IT!"4

MOST INDIAN EDITORS AND PUBLISHERS HAVE ACCEPTED PRESS CENSORSHIP DOCILELY. AT LEAST ONE INTERNATIONALLY KNOWN INDIAN NEWSMAN HAS BEEN ARRESTED, HOWEVER, AND A NUMBER OF LEADING JOURNALISTS HAVE CEASED TO PUBLISH SIGNED COLUMNS. AN UNDERGROUND PRESS IS CHURNING OUT ANTI-GOVERNMENT MATERIAL, WHICH APPEARS TO HAVE HAD LITTLE IMPACT THUS FAR.4

DATE:
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1	4	7
2	5	8
3	6	9

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PAGE OF PAGES

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6

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CITY

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

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INFO: FILE

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GANDHI HAS OUTLINED A 20-POINT PACKAGE OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS DESIGNED TO RALLY PUBLIC SUPPORT BEHIND HER. THE PROPOSED REFORMS READ LIKE A REPRISE OF THE CONGRESS PARTY PROMISES IN EVERY ELECTION CAMPAIGN SINCE INDEPENDENCE.4

THERE IS SOMETHING FOR EVERYONE: FOR THE RURAL POOR, LAND REFORM, HIGHER WAGES, AND ABOLITION OF BONDED LABOR; FOR THE MIDDLE CLASS, TAX RELIEF; AND FOR THE WEALTHY, LIBERALIZED INVESTMENT POSSIBILITIES AND ASSURANCES ABOUT NATIONALIZATION.4

FEW EXPECT GANDHI TO SUCCEED IN IMPLEMENTING ALL THESE PROMISES. THE PUBLIC MOOD, HOWEVER, IS MORE OPTIMISTIC THAN IT WAS A YEAR AGO, PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF AN IMPROVED ECONOMIC OUTLOOK.4

FOOD PRICES HAVE FALLEN SINCE JUNE, AND HIGH-YIELD SEEDS, FERTILIZER, AND ELECTRIC POWER ARE IN GOOD SUPPLY. MOST IMPORTANT, THE SUMMER MONSOON HAS BEEN GOOD, BRINGING THE PROMISE OF A BETTER FALL HARVEST THAN IN 1974.4

SOME INDIANS HOPE THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S EXPANDED POWERS WILL AID IN REVIVING THE ECONOMY AND CURTAILING INEFFICIENCY AND CORRUPTION IN THE BUREAUCRACY; BUSINESSMEN, FOR EXAMPLE, APPLAUD GANDHI'S

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PAGE 7 OF PAGES

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DATE/TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

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INFO: FILE

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☐ NO INDEX
☐ RETURN TO PER
☐ IP FILES

WARNING TO LABOR NOT TO STRIKE.4

OTHERS ARE WAITING TO SEE IF SHE WILL FINALLY TAKE LONG-NEEDED REMEDIAL MEASURES, SUCH AS TAXING AGRICULTURAL INCOMES, WHICH WOULD ALIENATE INFLUENTIAL SUPPORTERS IN THE CONGRESS PARTY. MOREOVER, THERE ARE SIGNS THAT THE EMERGENCY IS PROVIDING POLICE AND OTHER OFFICIALS WITH NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR EXTORTING MONEY AND FAVORS.4

FOR THE MOST PART, GANDHI'S REPRESSIVE MOVES HAVE BEEN PASSIVELY ACCEPTED. MOST INDIANS APPEAR TO BE WAITING TO SEE HOW THE EMERGENCY WILL AFFECT THEM. THE BULK OF THE POPULATION IS SCARCELY AFFECTED AT ALL BY CHANGES IN THE POWER STRUCTURE AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL.4

GANDHI'S RIVALS WITHIN THE CONGRESS PARTY REPORTEDLY ARE UNDER SURVEILLANCE AND HAVE LITTLE CHANCE TO UNSEAT HER AT THIS TIME. DISCIPLINE WITHIN THE PARTY IS BEING RIGOROUSLY ENFORCED BY THE VIRTUALLY UNPRECEDENTED TACTIC OF EXPELLING DISSIDENTS.4

INDIA'S EDUCATED CLASS, WHILE DEPLORING THE SUSPENSION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES AND CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS, IS CONSOLED BY GANDHI'S CARE, THUS FAR, TO OPERATE WITHIN A LOOSE CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK.4

DATE:
ORIG:
UNIT:
EXT:

OUTGOING MESSAGE

1	7
2	8
3	9

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8

CLASSIFICATION

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DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

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INFO: FILE

☐ INDEX DISSEM BY:
☐ NO INDEX
☐ RETURN TO PER
☐ IP FILES

THE VOLATILE STUDENTS, WHO RETURNED TO SCHOOL IN MID-JULY, HAVE NOT YET ATTEMPTED TO ORGANIZE RESISTANCE TO THE POLITICAL CHANGES THAT TOOK PLACE DURING THEIR SUMMER VACATION. THE GOVERNMENT RECENTLY MOVED TO DEFUSE ANY LEADERSHIP FOR THE STUDENTS BY THEIR TEACHERS WHEN SOME 300 INSTRUCTORS IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES IN THE NEW DELHI AREA WERE ARRESTED. THE CONGRESS PARTY REPORTEDLY IS DESIGNING A NEW YOUTH PROGRAM IN WHICH UNIFORMED YOUTHS WILL BE GIVEN QUASI-LEGAL POWERS TO OVERSEE LOCAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT MEASURES.4

THE MILITARY IS STICKING BY ITS PRACTICE OF AVOIDING POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT. MANY OFFICERS LIKE THE GREATER SENSE OF DISCIPLINE THAT HAS BEEN FORCED UPON THE NATION, AND MOST APPRECIATE GANDHI'S APPARENT RELUCTANCE TO CALL ON THE ARMY TO ASSIST THE POLICE IN ENFORCING HER REPRESSIVE POLICIES.4

IN EARLY AUGUST, GANDHI ACTED TO REMOVE ONE OF THE FEW REMAINING POSSIBLE THREATS TO HER CONTINUED EXERCISE OF POWER. SHE HAD PARLIAMENT PASS AN AMENDMENT TO THE ELECTION LAWS WHICH, IN EFFECT, ERASED HER CONVICTION LAST JUNE OF CAMPAIGN VIOLATIONS IN

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COORDINATING OFFICERS

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

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PAGE OF PAGES

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9

CLASSIFICATION

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DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF:

INFO: FILE

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☐ NO INDEX
☐ RETURN TO PER
☐ IN FILES

THE ELECTION IN 1971. THE AMENDMENT MAKES LARGELY SUPERFLUOUS THE SUPREME COURT HEARING ON GANDHI'S APPEAL AGAINST HER CONVICTION.4

WHILE THE ACTION IS CONSTITUTIONAL AND THERE IS PRECEDENT FOR RETROACTIVE LEGISLATION IN INDIA, IT WILL NEVERTHELESS EMBITTER THE PRIME MINISTER'S OPPONENTS AND MAY RAISE NEW QUESTIONS AMONG HER POLITICALLY CONSCIOUS COUNTRYMEN REGARDING THE MORALITY OF HER MODE OF OPERATION.4

OVER TIME, POLITICAL DISSIDENTS MAY BE ABLE TO CREATE A POLITICAL UNDERGROUND AND RAISE THE PROSPECT OF SABOTAGE AND ASSASSINATION. MAJOR ECONOMIC SETBACKS WOULD HASTEN THE PROCESS. A FEW WELL-KNOWN POLITICIANS ESCAPED THE DRAGNET IN JUNE AND CONCEIVABLY COULD FURNISH THE REQUISITE LEADERSHIP FOR THE STRUGGLE.4

ONLY A FEW ARE PRIVY TO GANDHI'S THINKING ABOUT THE PRESENT SITUATION. A CABINET-LEVEL COMMITTEE OVERSEES ADMINISTRATION OF EMERGENCY REGULATIONS, BUT THE FACT THAT IT INCLUDES AT LEAST TWO ASPIRANTS TO THE PRIME MINISTERSHIP REDUCES ITS USEFULNESS TO HER.4

GANDHI RELIES INSTEAD ON A NEW INNER CIRCLE THAT INCLUDES HER PRIVATE SECRETARY, THE LEFTIST PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS PARTY, A

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COORDINATING OFFICER

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8	9	10	11	12	13	14

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PAGE OF PAGES

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10

CLASSIFICATION

SECRET NO FOREIGN DISSEM

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF:

INFO: FILE

☐ INDEX DISSEM BY:☐ NO INDEX☐ RETURN TO PER☐ IF FILES #

PARTY LEADER FROM BOMBAY, AND HER 28-YEAR-OLD SON, SANJAY.4

SANJAY IS A POLITICAL NOVICE WHO IS ALREADY UNDER A CLOUD AS A RESULT OF ALLEGATIONS OF CORRUPTION IN CONNECTION WITH AN AUTO MANUFACTURING PROJECT. SINCE THE EMERGENCY, SANJAY HAS BEEN ISSUING ORDERS TO HIGH-RANKING BUREAUCRATS AND POLITICIANS AND PLAYS A STRONG ROLE IN ENFORCING COMPLIANCE WITH CENTRAL GOVERNMENT DIRECTIVES.4

SANJAY HAS A PENCHANT FOR BROWBEATING AND REPORTEDLY HAS ALREADY HAD A SERIOUS RUN-IN WITH ONE OF GANDHI'S MOST ABLE ASSISTANTS, S.S. RAY. RAY HAS BEEN RUMORED AS A LIKELY CANDIDATE FOR A SENIOR POST IN AN ANTICIPATED CABINET SHUFFLE.4

GANDHI HAS VERY LIKELY BEEN MAKING DECISIONS ON AN AD HOC BASIS AND HAS NO FIRMLY ESTABLISHED PATH OR TIMETABLE, PREFERRING, AS SHE HAS THROUGH HER NINE AND A HALF YEARS IN OFFICE, TO KEEP HER OPTIONS OPEN AS LONG AS POSSIBLE. SHE DOES NOT APPEAR TO HAVE STRONG IDEOLOGICAL MOORINGS.4

GANDHI'S PRIMARY OBJECTIVE IS TO INSULATE AND PROTECT HERSELF FROM ANY KIND OF POLITICAL THREAT. BASED ON PAST PERFORMANCE SHE

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 11

CONF: INFO: FILE

☐ INDEX DISSEM BY:
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☐ RETURN TO PER
☐ IN FILE #

WILL PROBABLY INTERSPERSE PERIODS OF RELATIVE INACTIVITY WITH BOLD
 NEW MOVES TO CATCH HER OPPONENTS BY SUPRISE.Y

GANDHI DEPICTS HERSELF AS THE LEADER OF ALL INDIANS, BOUND TO
 NO PARTICULAR REGION, CASTE, OR RELIGIOUS GROUP.Y

HER NATIONAL REPUTATION AND FAMILY BACKGROUND ARE UNIQUE AND
 HELP ACCOUNT FOR HER POPULARITY WITH THE MASSES. CROWDS TURN OUT
 MERELY TO SEE HER, THOUGH THEY DO NOT ALWAYS LISTEN TO WHAT SHE SAYS.Y

GANDHI'S GREATEST ASSET IS HER WILLINGNESS AND ABILITY TO PLAY
 POLITICS WITH FEW HOLDS BARPED. SHE ADMITS SHE IS NOT INHIBITED BY
 HER FATHER'S STERN SENSE OF PROPRIETY. "MY FATHER," SHE SAYS,
 "WAS A SAINT WHO STRAYED INTO POLITICS, I AM NOT OF THE SAME
 STUFF." {CONFIDENTIAL}Y

2. BAHRAIN: BAHRAIN, APPROACHING ITS FOURTH INDEPENDENCE
 DAY ON AUGUST 14, IS POLITICALLY STABLE AND MORE PROSPEROUS THAN
 BAHRAINIS IMAGINED POSSIBLE A FEW YEARS AGO. NEVERTHELESS,
 THE DEVELOPMENTS OF THE PAST SIX MONTHS HAVE BEEN SOBERING FOR
 AMIR ISA AL-KHALIFA AND THE REST OF THE RULING FAMILY. RENEUED
 HASSLING BETWEEN THE KHALIFAS AND THE FRACTIONOUS NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

DATE:
 ORIG:
 UNIT:
 EXT:

OUTGOING MESSAGE

OUT
GOING2
35
67
89
1011
1213
1415
1617
1819
2021
2223
2425
2627
2829
3031
3233
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PAGE

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PAGES

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12

CLASSIFICATION

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DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

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FOR SUPREMACY ON THE PERSIAN GULF ISLAND CAN BE EXPECTED WHEN THE
LEGISLATURE RECONVENES IN OCTOBER.4

MANAMA'S STRATEGY FOR DEALING WITH THE ASSEMBLY WORKED WELL
DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE LEGISLATIVE YEAR WHICH BEGAN LAST
OCTOBER. THAT STRATEGY CALLED FOR ISOLATING AND KEEPING OFF BALANCE
BOTH THE RADICAL LEFTISTS AND THE CONSERVATIVE SHIA MUSLIMS IN THE
ASSEMBLY, WHILE BUILDING UP A SOLID BODY OF SUPPORTERS AMONG THE
INDEPENDENT-MINDED CENTRIST DEPUTIES BY SPONSORING PROGRESSIVE
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LEGISLATION.4

THE EROSION OF CENTRIST SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT BEGAN
IN JANUARY 1975 DURING DEBATES OVER ECONOMIC POLICY. EXECUTIVE-
LEGISLATIVE RELATIONS TOOK ON A MUCH HARSHER NOTE IN THE SPRING,
WHEN CONTROVERSY ERUPTED OVER THE GOVERNMENT'S TOUGH INTERNAL
SECURITY DECREE. BY MID-1975, THE TWO BRANCHES HAD REACHED AN
IMPASSE AND AMIR ISA ORDERED THE RECESS OF THE ASSEMBLY. THE
GOVERNMENT HAS SINCE IMPOSED TOUGH PRESS CENSORSHIP TO PREVENT
FURTHER PUBLIC DEBATE ON THE LAW-AND-ORDER QUESTION.4

THE GOVERNMENT IS NOW BRACING FOR A RENEWAL OF CONFLICT

DATE:

ORIG:

UNIT:

EXT:

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Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010025-2

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13

CLASSIFICATION

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MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

NO. INCHES: PRICE NUMBER

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INFO: FILE

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0 NO INDEX
0 RETURN TO PER
0 IP INDEX 22

WHEN THE ASSEMBLY BEGINS ITS THIRD SESSION THIS FALL. THE SECURITY DECREE IS STILL UP IN THE AIR. A LONG-PROMISED LABOR LAW REMAINS ON THE AGENDA; LEFTISTS IN BAHRAIN HAVE BEEN TRYING FOR YEARS TO GET A LAW PERMITTING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF UNIONS. THE KHALIFA GOVERNMENT WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BE CHALLENGED ABOUT INFLATION, WAGES, AND THE INSUFFICIENCY OF PUBLIC SERVICES.

THE BAHRAINI PRIME MINISTER HAS CLAIMED THE 'KHALIFAS DO NOT INTEND TO ABANDON CONSTITUTIONAL AND PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURES, BUT HE DID EXPRESS UNHAPPINESS ABOUT THE DEPUTIES' UNWILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE IN SOLVING THE COUNTRY'S "REAL PROBLEMS." THERE HAVE BEEN HINTS THAT THE GOVERNMENT MAY DECIDE TO DISSOLVE THE CURRENT ASSEMBLY AND CALL FOR NEW ELECTIONS BEFORE OCTOBER. {CONFIDENTIAL} E-2 IMPDET H

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DATE TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF.

INFO: FILE

☐ INDEX DISSEM BY:
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☐ RETURN TO PER
☐ IP FILES #

EUROPEAN BRIEF 123-75.4

1. PORTUGAL: PORTUGAL'S RADICAL RULERS ARE BEING CONFRONTED BY AN INCREASINGLY REBELLIOUS POPULACE WHOSE CAUSE IS BEING SUPPORTED BY SOME MILITARY UNITS STATIONED IN THE NORTH.4

PORTUGUESE ARMY UNITS IN THE NORTH OPENLY DEFIED ORDERS FROM LISBON ON THURSDAY TO QUELL ANTI-COMMUNIST DISTURBANCES. ONE PRESS REPORT CLAIMS ARMY UNITS HAVE PRESENTED THE COMMANDER OF THE NORTHERN REGION WITH A PETITION SUPPORTING THE CREATION OF A MULTIPARTY GOVERNMENT. THE MOMENTUM FOR A DIRECT CHALLENGE OF THIS TYPE HAS BEEN BUILDING ALL WEEK. IF IT CONTINUES, THE PRESENT LEADERS OF THE RULING ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT WILL SOON HAVE TO DECIDE HOW TO RESPOND.4

--THEY CAN ACCEDE TO THE DEMAND FOR A MULTIPARTY SOCIALIST STATE. SUCH A CONCESSION WOULD REPRESENT A MAJOR VICTORY FOR THE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE LESS RADICAL, PRO-WESTERN FACTION IN THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL.4

--THEY CAN TRY TO IGNORE THESE DEMANDS AND ATTEMPT

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NOT YET READY TO GIVE IN TO THIS SENTIMENT. THEY PREDICT THAT THE GOVERNMENT, WHICH IS SCHEDULED TO BE SWORN IN ON FRIDAY, WILL AGAIN BE LED BY VASCO GONCALVES, WITH A CABINET LARGELY MADE UP OF RADICAL OFFICERS, COMMUNISTS, OR COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZERS. THE SOCIALIST AND POPULAR DEMOCRATIC PARTIES REPORTEDLY WILL NOT BE REPRESENTED.

THIS SITUATION COULD CHANGE, HOWEVER, AFTER INTERNAL SECURITY CHIEF CARVALHO AND ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF FABIAO REPORT ON THEIR TOUR OF THE NORTHERN AREA AND PRESENT THEIR VIEWS ON THE HOSTILE MOOD OF THE POPULACE.

THERE ARE, MOREOVER, LATE REPORTS THAT INDICATE THAT THE ANTI-GONCALVES ELEMENTS ARE STILL MAKING AN EFFORT TO HEAD OFF THE INSTALLATION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT, WHICH THEY HAVE PUBLICLY DENOUNCED AS "MANIFESTLY INCAPABLE." {CONFIDENTIAL}

2. SPAIN: CIVILIANS STRIVING TO LIBERALIZE THE SPANISH REGIME SUFFERED ANOTHER SETBACK LAST WEEK WHEN THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION SCHEDULED FOR THIS FALL WAS POSTPONED UNTIL THE SPRING OF 1976. OFFICIALLY, THE DELAY WAS ATTRIBUTED TO THE BURDEN OF PARLIAMENTARY BUSINESS, BUT THE MOVE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN

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INDEX DISSEM BY:

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Q	IP FILES	#
Q	100-443888-100	1
Q	100-443888-101	1
Q	100-443888-102	1
Q	100-443888-103	1
Q	100-443888-104	1
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Q	100-443888-198	1</

A BETTER CHANCE TO ORGANIZE, BUT IT WILL ALSO ALLOW THE REGIME
MORE TIME TO INFLUENCE THE WAY IN WHICH THE ASSOCIATIONS WILL
PARTICIPATE IN FUTURE ELECTIONS. NO PROVISION HAS YET BEEN
MADE FOR FINANCING THE POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS OR ASSURING
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DESIGNATING OFFICERS

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

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WESTERN HEMISPHERE BRIEF 123-75.4

//PANAMA: : PANAMANIAN GENERAL TORRIJOS, FACED WITH DELAYS IN THE CANAL TREATY NEGOTIATIONS AND WITH WHAT HE CONSIDERS A HARDENED US ATTITUDE, IS SEEKING MORE FOREIGN SUPPORT FOR PANAMA'S CASE. HE IS DEVOTING CONSIDERABLE TIME TO PRESENTING PANAMA'S CASE TO FOREIGN LEADERS.//4

EARLY LAST MONTH, TORRIJOS SIGNED A JOINT DECLARATION WITH THE PRESIDENTS OF COLOMBIA AND VENEZUELA CALLING FOR THE EARLY TRANSFER OF THE CANAL TO PANAMANIAN JURISDICTION. THE THREE CHIEF EXECUTIVES INTEND TO SEEK US AUTHORIZATION TO RELEASE LETTERS THE PRESIDENTS OF COLOMBIA, COSTA RICA, AND VENEZUELA HAD SENT PRESIDENT FORD ON THE CANAL PROBLEMS.//4

//TORRIJOS AND THE TWO PRESIDENTS PROPOSED THAT ALL THE AREA'S CHIEFS OF STATE MEET NEXT YEAR ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1926 PANAMA CONFERENCE, PRESUMABLY TO CALL FURTHER ATTENTION TO THE CANAL ISSUE.//4

//THE PANAMANIAN LEADER APPARENTLY FELT THAT PLAYING HOST TO THE RECENT CONFERENCE ON FORMING A LATIN AMERICAN ECONOMIC

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SYSTEM WAS ENOUGH OF A BOOST FOR PANAMA'S PRESTIGE THAT HE DID NOT HAVE TO PRESS THE CANAL PROBLEM AT THAT MEETING. HE ALMOST CERTAINLY WILL, HOWEVER, MAKE A STRONG PITCH FOR THIRD-WORLD SUPPORT AT THE CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, SCHEDULED TO BEGIN IN LIMA ON AUGUST 25.//4

//TORRIJOS HAD BEEN RELUCTANT TO BECOME CLOSELY IDENTIFIED WITH THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES; HE DECIDED AT THE LAST MINUTE NOT TO ATTEND THEIR SUMMIT MEETING IN ALGIERS IN 1973. TORRIJOS IS NOW LIKELY TO BELIEVE THAT THE BENEFITS OF FORMAL MEMBERSHIP IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT OUTWEIGHS THE DRAWBACKS.//4

//TORRIJOS MAY ALSO INITIATE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE USSR AND CHINA AND TRAVEL TO CUBA FOR A FIRST MEETING WITH FIDEL CASTRO. THESE INITIATIVES WOULD DEMONSTRATE PANAMA'S "INDEPENDENCE" FROM THE US AND SIGNAL TORRIJOS' IMPATIENCE WITH THE SLOW MOVEMENT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. (CONFIDENTIAL NO FOREIGN DISSEM)//E-2 IMPDET.4

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PAGE OF PAGES

5

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CONF.

INFO: FILE

INDEX DISSEM BY:

NO INDEX

0	RETURN TO	PER
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EAST ASIA BRIEF 123-75.4

1. NORTH VIETNAM - THAILAND: HANOI'S PARTY DAILY NHAN DAN CARRIED ANOTHER IN A SERIES OF EDITORIALS ON THURSDAY WHICH, OVER THE PAST MONTH, HAVE SHARPLY CRITICIZED THAI FOREIGN POLICY AND HAVE CALLED INTO QUESTION THE SINCERITY OF THE THAI GOVERNMENT'S DESIRE FOR FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. THE EDITORIAL COMMEMORATED THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE THAI INSURGENCY AND STRONGLY BACKED THE THAI "PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE AND DEMOCRACY."

THE NORTH VIETNAMESE OBVIOUSLY ARE SMARTING OVER BANGKOK'S REFUSAL TO RESUME DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS IN HANOI, DELIVERED IN AN UNUSUALLY BLUNT NOTE FROM FOREIGN MINISTER CHATCHAI IN LATE JUNE. IN ADDITION, THEY ARE UNDOUBTEDLY SUSPICIOUS OF BANGKOK'S QUICK ESTABLISHMENT OF FORMAL RELATIONS WITH CHINA.//THE COMMENTARIES ARE PARTICULARLY CRITICAL OF THAI RELATIONS WITH THE US, CHARGING BANGKOK WITH CONTINUED "COLLUSION" AND LACK OF SINCERITY IN EFFORTS TO REMOVE US MILITARY FORCES.//H

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EXT:

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PAGE OF PAGES

CLASSIFICATION

SECRET NO FOREIGN DISSEM

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITE

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF:

INFO · FILE

DISSEM BY:

INDEX

Q	RETURN TO	PER
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HANOI'S BARRAGE BEGAN SHORTLY AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF PRIME MINISTER KHUKRIT'S VISIT TO CHINA ON JULY 6.//THE CRITICAL TONE INCREASED SHARPLY IN MID-JULY WHEN BANGKOK ANNOUNCED THAT THAI NAVAL UNITS WOULD PARTICIPATE IN A SEATO EXERCISE WITH AMERICAN FORCES. ON JULY 31, HANOI'S FOREIGN MINISTRY SHARPLY PROTESTED THE USE BY THE US OF THAI BASES FOR U-2 FLIGHTS OVER INDOCHINA AND PUBLICLY ENDORSED SOUTH VIETNAM'S PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT (PRG) CLAIM TO SHIPS AND PLANES BROUGHT INTO THAILAND AT THE END OF THE WAR. IN ENDORSING THE PRG CLAIMS, HANOI DEPARTED FROM ITS PREVIOUS PRACTICE OF MERELY REPEATING SOUTH VIETNAMESE CLAIMS WITHOUT COMMENT.//4

HANOI'S IRE IS PROBABLY BEING GIVEN ADDED IMPETUS BY THE GROWING REALIZATION THAT ITS NEGOTIATORS MAY HAVE BEEN TAKEN IN BY BANGKOK'S INITIAL OPENNESS AND APPARENT WILLINGNESS TO MEET HANOI DEMANDS. IN EARLY JUNE, HANOI WAS RIDING HIGH ON THE EUPHORIA OF ITS VICTORY IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND PROBABLY ANTICIPATED THAT NEIGHBORING SOUTHEAST ASIAN STATES,

DATE:

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EXT:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
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PAGE 4 OF 4

4 4

CLASSIFICATION

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MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

DATE-TIME GROUP

CITY

MESSAGE REFERENCE NUMBER

CONF:

INFO: FILE

☐ INDEX DISSEM BY:

☐ NO INDEX

☐ RETURN TO PER

☐ IP FILES #

ESPECIALLY THAILAND, WOULD BE QUICK TO YIELD TO ITS CONDITIONS
IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH RELATIONS AND FEND OFF NORTH VIETNAMESE
SUPPORT FOR INSURGENT MOVEMENTS IN THEIR COUNTRIES.4

THE NEW EDITORIALS SUGGEST THAT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE
HAVE HOW COME TO REALIZE THAT BANGKOK IS NOT THE
PUSHOVER THAT HANOI ORIGINALLY THOUGHT IT WOULD BE. THE
EDITORIALS ALSO DAMPEN THE PROSPECTS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES ANYTIME SOON. {CONFI-
DENTIAL} E-2 IMPDET.H

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